Route 8, Frederick, Md. 21701
5/12/73

Dear Dick,

This will be a disjointed letter. You will probably be able to see when I've taken the paper from the typewriter. The enormity of what I expected on return is what I expected and there were urgent matters unattended when I left.

As I came back and tried to catch up on the Watergate developments in the paper, the form and content of a book kept intruding into my thoughts. As I told you, I can't imagine anyone else doing the kind of book I would want to and conceive. My wife says she saw in some gossip column that Clark Mollenhoff is doing the Bantam special. I know Clark. You know this is no surprize to me. He will write around his personal experiences with some of these people. He was in the White House. He is a first-rate reporter. He is a sincere conservative. He is also a bureau chief and a syndicated columnist. I suppose he can suspend his column and get other staffers to do his reporting for his paper. If he does not, his book will not be all that fast in coming. If he does, it will not contain the result of much personal digging. He won't have time. He will be able to draw upon his own excellent sources. Whichever way it happens, I would expect his book to be a rewrite of the newspapers, as the newspapers reported the ongoing story, with a few additions of essentially inconsequential details.

"Watergate" needs a context to be a good book. I believe that with the proper context it will be a significant book. No conservative like Clark is about to give it that context nor would any be willing to consider what I believe the real one is. The actuality is that this is the visible and very small part of a revolution of the right. I have seen it coming for years and was writing about it five years ago. I then amended the Eisenhower phrase of "CIA-Military-Industrial Complex."

One title that suggested itself to me while returning embodies this concept: Watergate - Fascism's Floodgate. Maybe it isn't good, maybe a variation would be or would be better. But of all the visible manifestations of this revolution of the right - and there have been many - Watergate is quite comprehensible as an excess of the Authoritarianism that really has not been creeping, as the right has said of what it calls "socialism". Some months ago I started keeping an Authoritarianism file. Prior to that I had kept files on aspects. Particularly the attempts at changing the legal and Constitutional structures. Some of it was pretty open, required no deep thought for understanding, and was completely ignored. One was Mitchell's attempt to rewrite the Sixth Amendment. Another is Burger's attempt to change the function of and access to the Supreme Court while simultaneously intruding into the legislative process. (And how about the character of Nixon's appointees?) These are not in themselves spectacular things and I would not intend more than passing mention. There are very many. Others include immobilizing, really castrating, the Congress and ignoring its enactments.

This kind of reordering of society is never possible without the active aid of the intelligence services, all of them, not only the CIA, which does dominate. Right now it includes and it has for years included the FBI and for a period it included a massive operation by the Army. (I was the object of improper Army interest and know one man who was part of it.) With the Army doing the leg work and not limited by appropriations, so many dossiers were collected nobody knows their number. Soldiers were used as spies and as file clerks. So indiscriminate was this Gestapo surveillance that ecologists appear in now-hidden files as subversives. But it is the CIA's intrusion into the domestic area that is the sensational development. It trained and equipped and imported the storm troopers. Its explosives have been used by these men for domestic bombings. Its arms are still hidden where buried. During Hurricane Camille one cache was exposed by the erosions

from high water. This, of course, is the Hunt story. And in the Watergate part alone many more CIAers of the past figure than have been publicized. Some were not caught, some would not go along.

There is truly sensational material I do have and has not been used and has little prospect of being used relating to this. By coincidence, one of the things that will keep me from catching up much today will be a visit from the man who was part of the surveillances of me, the one who gave me carbons of my words when I made public appearances, bills to the CIA front for this surveillance, checks in payment, envelopes in which the checks were mailed, and the names of the people. When his stomach finally turned he taped and transcribed his conversations with the national manager of the private service used by the CIA. If his description of me before he met me is a bit excessive, it and the response of his boss in their January 24, 1968 conversation would be amusing if the whole thing were not so genuinely subversive. He reported "the CIA's old nemesis, Mr. Harold Weisberg, is coming to Chicago next Friday." The boss' response was, "Oh, what fun!" This also means "goody -business!" When the local manager referred to my then new book, my fourth, the national manager first said, "Yeah, he has been talking about it here." He then added, referring to the CIA, "I will tell them about it. It is quite likely that they will be [interested], he seems to be bothering them." In later description of this book he said it "has all kinds of stuff in it." (Some of that "stuff" was four more years in getting public attention, the CIA's improper and illegal training and indoctrinating of local police.) The local manager reported he was aware of my habits in his territory, what "he usually does when he is in Chicago," or this was by no means a first time and said, "All right, well. so I will keep an eye on Mr. Weisberg here," "Okay", his boss said, "and I will let them know." The CIA wanted the surveillance and I have all the proof, beginning with carbons of what they got. In 1971, with the appearance of my fifth book, I had a conversation with this national manager and I taped it. He said of CIA's interest in writers that I "hold the all-time track record." If the pixie in me took him by surprize when I phoned, he was nonetheless forthright because he knew that I knew.

The unpublished stuff I have on Hunt is, I think, sensational. His career has not yet been adequately reported. It and other things on Nixon personally should be enough, if anything can be, to get Nixon impeached. (But I have in mind a book that will not be dated by impeachment, resignation or anything that emerges in what will be a developing story in which nobody can foresee what will happen.) Hunt almost set the fuze on World War III. He was really Frank Bender of the Bay of Pigs. I know he was part of the Arbenz overthrow in Guatemala and I am sure but do not yet have absolute proof that it is he who triggered the Dominican fiasco you should recall, under LBJ, with open warfare, many deaths, and the restoration of a fascist, military dictatorship. He was engaged in illegal domestic intelligence beginning not later than 1965. Here there is a prima facie case that he killed the deal I had with the Saturday Evening Post for my first book. (These personal things need not be in the book but could be. One of the first things I must do is write the requested memo on all of this for the ACLU because Shattuck wants to present it to the board. The purpose to decide if they'll sue the CIA for me. That would, I think, help a book considerably. And it has never been done before. It should permit the taking of depositions. Including from Hunt. You know what this could mean to the second-sale of a book.) During all this time he had a cover with both a literary agency and a public-relations agency that worked for the CIA, as far back as the Bay of Pigs. I have absolute, irrefutable proof of these connections, with intimate details, including clandestine phone and mail services. After Hunt retired from the CIA he had an unhidden but unknown connection with this same p.r. outfit. It was not what was reported after his arrest, that he was no more than a hired pen. He was vice president and a member of the board. And they continued to get government money, tax money, after Hunt's arrest. These are phoney contracts, like getting the President's daughter on TV (and during a campaign, yet). What Hunt and the agency's president, Robert Bennett, were actually doing is setting up some 40 fronts for the hiding of clandestine Creep money, including that dairy-interest bribe. They hid it in the bank of True Davis, the man who pulled the Eagleton plug.

This is part of what I was driving at in the correspondence with John Dean III that I showed you. His failure to respond to my repeated request is all I need to go into federal court under 5 U.S.C.552, the Freedom of Information law. Under that law the case goes to the top of the calendar immediately. Today this would get real attention. If you recall the requests in that correspondence relating to Nixon and public money, they relate to what is not believed of him, common, ordinary graft, and I have the proof with respect to some. Briefly, without going back to the Checkers speech, where I also know what was not then publicized having to do with his purchase of a property I knew well from knowing its owners, former Attorney General and Mrs. Homer Stille Cummings, there seems little doubt that he is renting his own property to the government for his own and no other use (San Clemente and Key Biscayne) and there is no doubt that tax money is being spent in permanent improvements for his personal, financial benefit. At San Clemente this includes an entirely new heating system, on the books as part of the "security" arrangements!

Or, other, new and more serious and more sensational criminal activity for and on behalf of if not, indeed, by the President.

You and any prospective publisher should understand that despite the excellent reporting and my belief that the Washington Post really deserved the Pulitzer, there has really been no original investigative reporting. Virtually 100% of what has appeared was leaked by those with a vested interest in having it appear. I have been close to the reporting and the reporters. I know them. I could not interest Woodward and Bernstein of the Post in going off on their own, even on Hunt. I have no reason to believe that this will not change. The one indication of original approaches was during my trip to New York, when some reporters asked some assassination nuts I know about connections between the characters thus far out from under the rocks and the JFK assassination. There are some. As I told you, I have the FBI reports on Fiorini (Sturgis) and Barker's associate Suarez, perhaps a dozen pages. Barker, by the way, was Hunt's Bay of Pigs second-in-command. He had worked for the Cuban police and both the FBI and CIA. I have many more FBI reports on their cronies. They'd make a provocative appending if reproduced in facsimile. Who who has not seen my work has ever seen an FBI report?

In some ways the excellent reporting has been bad reporting. The original indictment, for example, was an obvious Whitewash. I have it and have already analyzed it. Crimes on which the existing proof was overwhelming were not charged. With all the money already established as part of the deal, only $1,700 was mentioned. Etc. Etc. This was Nixon's prosecution of Nixon.

I have had previous personal experiences with many of these figures. Dean you know of. Off the top of the head, Mitchell, Kleindienst and Ruckelshaus, too. I've also beaten all in court and have independent proof of the protection of all of serious federal crime, perjury, and of the participation of two at least in its subornation. Add Pat Gray in a separate one, the case that was ruled on by the Court of Appeals February 28. I won and it is against the FBI. Here I am led to believe that it would not be impossible for me to interview some of these people if I were to restrict myself to an area in which I think they'd be anxious to talk for a book that had some possibility of wide attention. In a fast book the transcripts could be an appendix. For five years, in my thinking and in my writing I have termed these people and all the others "the dedicated wrong". They are quite sincere. They really want an authoritarian state and consider it patriotism. I think they would be willing to attempt self-justification. That would zing in a book with the doctrine suggested above.

Aside from those with whom I've had personal contact, I think I can approach others. For example, McCord's present lawyer is the one whose name appears on two of my Freedom of Information suits. (Lesar, to whom I referred you on another matter, and I actually did all the work.) Efforts to sell McCord have failed because all he can say on fact is public domain. Rather, in the limited concept of fact that is understood. He was part of a military preparation for Der Tag when all of this broke, a genuine fear he actually has that those millions of reds in this country will take it over. I have enough on

that without amplification from him. Martha Mitchell granted a private interview in Washington Wednesday, while I was in New York, to a reporter friend of mine, for use abroad. My friend is correspondent for Brazilian newspapers. She is quite a radical, but that did not deter Martha.

However, I anticipate no problem with content, except from too much in hand already. I regard these things as attractive additions but by no means necessary and I would not suggest delaying a book for them. I believe the book should be written without any effort at interviewing and any interviews should be appendix material only. Aside from what is known (if not really widely) and should be included as part of the entire story, I think I have indicated considerable and completely fresh material. There is more. While I've been writing this I remember Hunt's proposal to assassinate the head of another state. A liberal publisher might relish this because it was Castro, Hunt's first proposal when he joined the Bay of Pigs project, and because Bill Buckley, for all his inveighing against the dishonesties of what to him is the "liberal" press, edited this out of the show he did with Hunt and corrupted all the transcripts to hide it. I have the aired show on tape, the Buckley transcript and the unedited tape, from Buckley's own incompetents on his show. Not stolen but bought for $5.00 and properly indentified.

I digress before I forget. This is also the story of the yapping Yaffers, the zanies of the Young Americans for Freedom (ugh!) stripe when they got their first chance in government. I distinguish between genuine conservatives and those who call themselves that and are not. When they come into power, these phoney conservatives turn out to be Ameriform fascists, Nazis without gas chambers. Even an Egil Krogh (EEjil Krogue, as in rogue), who is regarded by liberals as a decent and concerned man, actually threatened doctors who opposed authoritarianism. I mean scared them so they stayed scared for years. I have a cousin who knows all these people personally from having held as high a position in the government as civil service permits. He has just retired.

Another free association as I ramble in my haste: Nixon is reorganizing the CIA to make it a personal arm of the President while he is President. It is called "efficiency". I have some personal stories about the dedicated Schlesinger, just moved to Defense. His successor is one of the original Viet Nam bad guys under whom there was this torture of prisoners, including civilians. Throwing humans from helicopters, too.

Speed: remember, I have been a publisher. My fourth book was 28 days from the day I wrote the foreword until I had the first 100 bound copies in my hand for press use. When Dell ordered 8,000 copies of WHITEWASH on a Friday afternoon, they were printed and the sewing of the binds was well under way on Monday. The order was filled and shipped by the next Friday, or within a week. With a cheaper binding, greater speed is a snap. I think what I have in mind could also be great for initial sales. You realize I am not talking theory but what I have done. My fourth book included a name and subject index and there were but two of us working, my wife and I. (I'd omit an index in this but would include one in later editions, if any.)

Financial arrangement: entirely in your hands. The one thing I would need because of my precarious condition now is the actual and slight cost of doing what I could not do at home. Example: getting to people to interview them. I have the tape recorder and sufficient tapes.

Promotional possibilities: aside from my writing and public appearances ( people are still talking to me when I go to New York of those of seven years ago, and I mean total strangers), I was a Senate investigator, was in OSS, did the definitive work on Nazi cartels in World War II, was a trouble-shooter in intelligence (I recall rush jobs for the White House and the director of intelligence for the State Department) and was

often called upon for special jobs by both Secret Intelligence and Counter Intelligence divisions (I was an intelligence analyst) when they could not do them. A number of large corporations were vested by the government following my work. I recall the plexiglas people, Roehm & Haas, and Schering, the drug house. There were probably others. Until Shimkin realized that with all those cases pending on Calories Don't Count, Pocketbooks was saying of me and WHITEWASH that with my background and their public-relations knowhow, it would be the best-selling book of 1965 and I'd be the best-known private citizen. Without filing any more Freedom of Information suits and remember I am in a position to do it immediately with what is quite relevant to this book, against both the White House and the CIA and that the ACLU might file one for me - there are two cases now in litigation that can attract considerable attention. The one against the Department of Justice and the FBI that I won in the court of appeals will get an en banc rehearing by that court or will go to the Supreme Court. (I regard it as so unlikely it is impossible that the government will do what the court of appeals ordered in remanding. Sirica, the Watergate judge, is the judge in the court below.) In the King assassination, where I am Ray's investigator, I have the solution to the actual killing now. Ray can't talk and survive. It is a very dangerous situation in which too many people, including the close-mouthed Ray, his brothers and his previous lawyers, have already been indiscreet. Even if nothing happens to Ray, that case is now going to the court of appeals in Cincinnati. If it takes the appeal, the investigation on which Lesar's petition is based is my work. With the trial he has never had, my work will acquit Ray. Or, more second-sale possibilities, too. All of this will fit in with another sensational case about which I can now say nothing except in private. It is the case of a very well-known man. One of the most controversial and articulate in the country. And he knows and is hiding his time. If I am regarded as a controversial figure from my Kennedy assassination work, even if I am criticized for it, this is all grist for the selling mill. In fact, as a competitor to Bantam and Pollenhoff, aside from the differences in the books and my belief that it is mine that will have the new and sensational material, I am one of the few who could also be a different and attention-getting author. Although I have never been a real spook, even when I was a British (unpaid) agent before we got into World War II or in OSS, I could be called one.

My knowledge of how the agencies work is not restricted to my OSS service. I have worked with police and the FBI. I lived in the field on a case with the FBI once for four months. One agent taught me how to assemble and disassemble an automatic blindfolded so I could ride shotgun for him when all the other agents were unavailable. There is more of an FBI story here than I've told you. One example is what they did not turn up on Hunt and what he and his associates were up to. This means only that they avoided or suppressed it. I did it all without leaving home! beginning with standard sources I asked others to xerox for me.

This is intended for your information and for your talking to any publisher, if you do that before I evolve the formula on which I'm still working. It would be much easier if there were an expression of interest because variations are possible and one of the variables is the preferences of the publisher.

I enjoyed the reunion after all these years very much. Again I thank you for it and for your kindnesses.

I left word for Manny before I left. His mother died. This appears to be the reason he did not keep our appointment.

Best,